1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

Drum.—The drum (witu'a) is apparently recent. Piudy states that it came from the north and northeast at the time of the white advent. The late intrusion seems in keeping with the fact that the drum was rarely, if ever, used by shamans. According to several informants, tribes to the north employed the drum in doctoring. In recent times, the Gidü'tikad[8] have used it as a dance accompaniment. It is the usual tambourine drum—hide stretched on a circular frame.

534
322

A modern specimen which I was allowed to examine[176] was about sixteen inches in diameter. The frame was chokecherry, although juniper is more usual. Horse hide (with the hair surface facing in) was stretched taut over one side. It was held by six thongs radiating toward the center of the under side from as many slits spaced evenly along the margin of the turnover. Each thong was slit a short distance from the end and pushed through the hole in the skin cover. The body of the thong was then brought through its own end slit, just as merchandising tags are attached. The six thongs converged in the center, but their fastening was obscured by several rows of cotton cloth in wrapped stitch. The radiating thongs constituted a handle behind which the single drum stick was thrust when not in use. The stick to this drum had been lost but was described as short and hide-wrapped on one end.

A band of red paint encircled the rim of the drum, but the face proper was undecorated.

Joshua said that the drum was sometimes painted red, sometimes yellow. The coloring was applied around the edge and in the middle, the latter perhaps in stripes.

DOGS

There is practically unanimity on the subject of the native dog, soko'puku. It was very scarce, very small, and looked "just like a coyote." It was of virtually no assistance in transportation, Dr. de Angulo's assertion that "they used dogs for packing"[177] being contradicted by all informants. One[178] admitted under pressure of persistent questioning that "if a dog were good and strong he might carry a pack, but most dogs were poor, and they were pretty scarce." Certainly the dog pack was very much out of the ordinary. The travois was unknown; Bige Archie asserted that it was introduced with the horse, but this was denied by all other informants.

231 ●
[492]

Because of their scarcity, dogs could never have been very important as food. The majority denied ever eating dog, but two had heard of its being eaten in times of great shortage.

[261]

[176] In possession of Nellie Townsend, Fort Bidwell.
[177] P. 322.
[178] MA.

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

231 The dog was used in tracking game, principally groundhog. A
224 good dog would kill a wounded deer. Dogs were given no special training for the chase; "they hunted when they were hungry."
[552] As far as I could learn, dogs lacked individual names.

TRANSPORTATION

482 Burdens were carried on the back. A load was slung from the chest by a tumpline but if very heavy, it was suspended from the head with a pad of sagebrush bark to prevent chafing.

Old brush was gathered for firewood. It was piled, tied together, and carried to camp. In traveling, blankets were thrown over the shoulders, sacks of food carried on the back, and small objects, such as the metate, placed in a burden basket and similarly borne. A child too small to walk sat on top of the load, his legs dangling about his mother's neck. Sometimes a woman carried two small children this way; sometimes a man also carried a small child.

482 With the introduction of horses, travel was greatly facilitated.
492 The horse pack called for twisted or braided (three or four-strand) deer hide or for three-strand braid of sagebrush or wiha'b' twine. The Paiute saddle (sado', from saddle) was described as an affair of soft deer or antelope hide stuffed with deer hair. It had no wooden or horn frame. A long loop of 3½-inch deer hide contained the "round" juniper stirrup.

415 *Containers.*—The utility container was the conical twined burden basket. Foods, such as roots, were stored in an open twine sack of sagebrush bark (watsi'-mago"o; sagebrush bark container) described as four feet in length and two in width. A close-twined conical basket or a conical hide container (kwa'nü) was used for seeds. The hide bag was made on a frame of two, possibly more, willows crossed and bent upward. One or two deer or antelope skins were sewed together as covering and a green willow hoop fastened about the mouth.

Water was carried in the pitched willow jar and, according to Minnie, sometimes in a skin bag. Minor receptacles such as the knife sheath, quiver, and the bag for the fire drill, are mentioned under other headings. The same holds for the cradle.

372 *Miscellaneous.*—On short trips in winter, fire was carried in a slow match (koso'-yakwi'n^a; koso', fire; yakwi'n^a, hold in the hand ?) of sagebrush bark in three-strand braid. It was "about the size of a woman's forearm and was braided hard." A slightly different type

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

TRADE

439

Trade seems to have been carried on to a moderate extent. Sinew, arrowheads, red paint, buckskins, and moccasins were bartered with the adjacent Achomawi. The latter seem to have held moccasins in particularly high esteem, for when an Achomawi killed a Paiute he invariably removed the moccasins for his own use. In return for the above mentioned articles, the Paiute secured the Achomawi bow which "was of young oak and good and stout. It had lots of sinew on one side." Achomawi arrows (atsa'-adi; red-arrow, so-called because of red paint on them) were also "pretty good." A person might exchange a rabbitskin blanket for an Achomawi bow and arrow.

According to Joshua, the Paiute also secured baskets, including women's caps, from the Achomawi. This is not surprising in view of the execrable character of their own work. Piudy doubted there was much traffic in baskets; the only good Achomawi baskets, he said, were made far to the west, the craft of the eastern Achomawi not being much better than their own. Nowadays, at least, there is a certain amount of interchange, for I have noted several baskets purchased locally which are indubitably of Achomawi origin. Baskets of Klamath-Modoc type also crop up now and then.

Although Piudy minimized the traffic in food products, the Gidü'-tikad[8] certainly obtained dried fish from their western neighbors. The fish were slit and sun-dried, not ground.[179] Joshua stated that the Paiute traded for kuyu'i (a kind of sucker), a'gai (salmon), and yüani, tsia'ns, and tsowa'm, the last three unidentified. In exchange, the Achomawi were given red paint and various foods such as ya'pa', hu"nibui, and hapi'[7].

[231]

Informants report some trade with the Klamath, and there may possibly have been some with other Paiute bands, but on this I have no data. The Warm Springs Indians are said to have come from the north on trading expeditions, and it was from them that the Gidü'-tikad[8] secured their first horses. "A nice looking pony" could be got in exchange for a sack of camas, but buckskin seems to have been the preferred medium.

Our horses came from the northeast, toward the Bannock. The Burns Paiute got horses and the Warm Springs Indians stole them and brought them here to trade. We had horses before the whites came.

[179] Cf. de Angulo, 320.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

(*wiowdn*") a forward and sidewise motion. The shells are then thrown out of the tray by a peculiar sidewise movement. Next the metate is turned over on the other side, and the seeds are ground with another stone, the movement of this muller (*tusú*) being of the familiar forward and backward type. But the use of the metate varies with the seed or nut in question. In some cases there is no shelling at all so that merely one side of the slab is employed; in others the shell is removed by a pounding motion.

Tobacco.

It is probable that none of the Shoshonean Plateau tribes raised tobacco but smoked various substitutes.[1] From some of the groups specific statements were obtained.

The Paviotso called their tobacco *púisa'*[pu]. It is a weed growing several feet high up on the mountains. To improve the odor the leaves of another plant were mixed with it, the mixture being called *tü'mayà*[m]. A straight stone pipe was formerly used by medicinemen. Sam Dick says the stem was usually of *tsiabi*. The pipe was passed to the right.

The Wind River Shoshoni say they first got tobacco from the whites, one informant ascribing its introduction to Canadian traders, another to the French.[2] They smoked bark-weed from the mountains and used soapstone pipes. Old men used to smoke a good deal, women never. The pipe was always passed from right to left. It was never offered to the cardinal directions. As De Smet noted, the practices connected with smoking were largely dependent on individual dreams. For example, one or two medicinemen might take off their moccasins before smoking; another man thought he should become very sick if he smoked at all.[3]

The Moapa smoked a weed called *sawá·ɣodp'*, using stone pipes.

According to Chamberlin, the Gosiute smoked *Nicotiana attenuata* and to a lesser extent *Vaccinium caespitosum* and *Silene menziesii*. The inner bark of *Cornus stolonifera*, i.e. kinnikinnick, was smoked alone or mixed with tobacco.[4]

Dogs.

Two important facts seem to be noteworthy for most of the Shoshoneans: dogs were used in the chase and they were never eaten.

The Wind River Shoshoni used dogs to hunt prairie-dogs, rabbits, and mountain sheep; they did not eat the flesh of their one domesticated

[1] Cf. Lowie, 213-214.
[2] These statements are of course not irreconcilable.
[3] See Lowie, 212 f.
[4] Chamberlin, 345.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

animal. They did not employ the travois but packed the dogs with bags on each side. Horses were not eaten except when the people were in very hard circumstances.[1]

The Paviotso hunted antelope with dogs. These would bark and hold the game at bay till the hunter was in a position to shoot them.

The Moapa similarly pursued mountain sheep.

Dress.

The rabbitskin robe probably formed a universal article of clothing among the Shoshonean Plateau peoples. A specimen bought from the Shivwits was of both cottontail and jack-rabbit skins. The Kaibab encountered by Powell in the winter time wore "to some extent deerskin but mainly old clothes obtained from the whites. They made a very warm robe out of rabbit skins, twisted into a long rope and then sewed side to side into the desired size and shape."[2] But in the warm season these people went practically naked. Powell came across a couple at the end of August of whom the man was "dressed in a hat; the woman in a string of beads only."[3] A cloth model of the old style woman's dress from Moapa is characterized by the lack of sleeves and a fringe extending around everywhere except round the armholes.

At present the only aboriginal article of clothing worn is the woman's basket hat (Fig. 4). At Moapa I observed that many of the women decorated the face with painted designs, the paint being called *ump*[i]. One woman had two short straight lines on each side of the mouth, one line being about half an inch above the other. Another woman had two straight lines, which ran from the corners of the mouth down to the chin and a third from the middle of the lower lip down to the chin.

The Ute had rabbitskin as well as elk and deerskin blankets. Those of rabbitskin were made by the women and served as blankets and for winter wear. In the historic period the Plains Indian contact exerted a great influence on the costume as well as on other features of Ute culture. Reed describes a man's garment as comprising elkhide moccasins, deerskin leggings, a cloth gee-string, a shirt, and a Navajo blanket.[4]

In the old days Ute women wore their hair parted in the middle but without braiding; the men had braids. One Navaho Springs Indian was seen with two braids hanging behind the ears. Neither sex wore any

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[1] Cf. Lowie, 185.
[2] Dellenbaugh, 178.
[3] Powell, 104; cf. *ibid.*, 115, 126. The same dearth of clothing in the summer is reported for the Gosiute, Wilson, 2.
[4] Reed, 40.

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED

+ Element present.
- Element absent.
· Either question was not asked or informant did not understand.
* Reference to a note in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."

NWA 224

N ●[231]

NWA [411]

N A [736]

ELEMENTS	OCCURRENCE												
	To	Kl	K2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AS
SUBSISTENCE														
Hunting														
Deer Hunting														
1. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2a. Communal	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3. Past ambushed hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*5. Into enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Into enclosure with pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*8. Into trap, net, or snare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*9. With fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*10. With dogs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
11. In relays	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
12. Shamanism	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Ambush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. In pit beside trail	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
15. In pit beside spring	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
16. In pit around which brush fence	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
17. Single hunter stalks	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18. Runs down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18a. Runs down game when it is wounded	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
*19. Disguise	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20. Deer head	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
21. Entire deerskin	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
22. Brush carried	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
23. Poison arrow	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24. Fire to signal hunters	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
*25. Formal chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
26. Informal chief	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*27. Magic	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
Antelope Hunting														
*27a. Communal hunt	·	·	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28. Corral	·	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28a. Sagebrush-bark rope	·	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
29. Solid brush fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
*29a. Brush fence around hill	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*30. Brush at intervals	+	·	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	·	-
31. Wings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*32. Shamanism	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Shaman is chief of hunt	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Shaman has an assistant	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
35. Shaman has special enclosure	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
36. Fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
*37. Notched stick	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	·	+
*38. Grass-stuffed hide	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	-	+	-	+	+	·	-
39. Hoof rattle	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	·	-

Washo NT20

Ashomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kd	Ku	Yo	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Kd	Kl	At
40. Wand	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Antelope dance	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
47. Antelope mask	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
48. Round dance	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
49. Stumbling taboo	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
49a. Menstruating women taboo	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
50. Loss of objects taboo	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
53. Messengers to antelope	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
57. Fires to drive	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
58. Shaman in corral	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
59. Shaman "closes gate"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
60. Special archer	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
63. Run down on horseback	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
64. Drive	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
65. Past ambushed hunters	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
66. With dogs	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
67. With fire	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
70. Ambush beside spring	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
71. Hunters disguised	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
73. Disguise	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
74. Antelopeskin	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
75. Brush	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
Mt.-Sheep Hunting														
76. Surround	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
77. Drive	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
78. Past hidden hunters	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
79. With fire	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
80. With dogs	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
81. Into enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
83. Through V-fence	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
88. Entire skin used	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
89. Fire to signal hunters	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
91. Magic	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Communal Rabbit Hunting														
92. Net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. Club thrown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
97. All people hunt	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–

[p.367]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ts	Kl	Kt	Kn	Yo	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
NWA 224	218. Brush	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
	219. Feather	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
	220. Basket	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
	221. Rodents flooded out	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	222. Flares for fowl	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	Eagle (and Other) Catching														
NWA 223	223. Aeries owned, individually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
	224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
	226. Hunter climbs to the nest	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	227. On rope	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
	228. On net	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
	229. Carries cage	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA [231]	230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	237. Rearing of eagle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	238. Nest in tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	239. Bird tied up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	240. Caged	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
	241. Eagle-catching power from dream	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
	242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	244. Wing feathers	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
NWA 231	244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	245. For trade only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	248. Rearing other birds	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
	248. Chiefly dove	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	249. Young taken from nest	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	250. Bird kept in cage	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Fishing														
NWA 226	252a. Trout caught in own territory	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	252b. Obtained in neighboring area	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	252c. Kuyui caught in own territory	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	252e. Suckers caught in own territory	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	252g. Minnows caught in own territory	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	252i. Salmon caught in own territory	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	252j. Obtained in neighboring area	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	256. Fish nets	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
	256. Special form	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
	257. Rabbit net used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	258. Wading in stream	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
N [476]	258a. Ice pick	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	259. Net used through ice	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
	259a. Communal fishing	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NWA	260. Weir	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	261. Rock dam	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	262. Platform built over river	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
226	263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227	264. Conical carrying type	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 370]

SUBSISTENCE

Deer Hunting

N 224 2a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 252).

5. Paviotso: "Both deer and mt. sheep were driven between very long wings paralleling a game trail, and so into a corral" (Curtis, 15: 71). To: Affirmed by BS, but I suspect he was confusing deer hunting with methods used for antelope.

6. Ki: +; pit constructed along trail (Kelly, 81).

8. Owens Valley: "Nets and pitfalls were denied, but some kind of trap was affirmed for deer and mt. sheep" (Steward, 252). Wa: Running W [224] noose for deer present (Smith, notes).

9. Owens Valley: Torches used in communal hunt to ignite brush, thus obtaining a large circle of fire with which to drive (Steward, 253). To: - (LP).

N 10. Nearly all informants at first said Paiute had no "dogs," but instead had "Indian dogs [231] with ears straight up." Even these were small and scarce, and, although their use in hunting was affirmed by some, they were certainly not of much importance. Steward, 252, said Owens Valley Paiute used dogs for deer hunting. Ki: - (KH).

12. To: + (BS).

13. To: - (LP). Pa: Hunter must rub self with sagebrush first. Ki: Special fence was built to force deer through gate near which hunter hid (Kelly, 82).

16. Tg: Stone fence was built around pit.

19. Paviotso: Deer head with antlers used as disguise to approach game (Lowie, 197). Owens Valley: Skin and antlers used (Steward, 252). Ts: Deer disguise used only during rutting season. Hunter put on skin and head of buck and pawed ground to attract a buck. As deer charged to attack intruder he was shot with arrow. "It was dangerous." Kl: No deer disguise was used because of fear of buck. A hunter once tried it and was killed. Ki: "Antelope head with ears and horns attached" was occasionally used to hunt deer (Kelly, 81). My informant denied such use.

N 25. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253). AE: 76 There was a formal chief for communal deer hunt who led ceremony of presenting offering of smoke and food to all things at start of hunt. The hunters were together for the ceremony and had fasted all day until after it was completed.

26. Ki: + (Kelly, 81).

N 27. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To:- (LP). [301] To: Hunter painted himself with a white paint (poeŋ osai ivi) obtained near Dayton, Nevada, which made him invisible to deer. Pa: There is N a spring near W shore of Walker Lake, 3 mi. S of [787] Schurz, where a hunter could sleep if he wanted

[p. 422 (8)]

223 then were picked up. Even in bands where net present, it was not always used.

197. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): antelope disguise worn while hunting fowl in order to approach game.

200. Ki: + (Kelly, 89): "dancing" sage hens were approached by hunter wearing antelope disguise.

Miscellaneous

224 201. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

203. Wd: - (SC).

204. Wd: - (SC).

209. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

210. To: Entrance to hole was closed with brush so that the jack rabbit could not dash out when smoked. He would try to work through the brush, but would be suffocated.

217. Ts: Hawk wing called tüso´öp°.

[177] 221. To: Denied by LP, who said flooding out of rodents learned from white people. Wd: (SC).

222. To: - (LP).

Eagle and Other Catching

223 223. Ts: Aeries owned by individual families and descended from father to son. Usually there were plenty of eagles. There was no idea of communal ownership.

225. At: A dry rattling hide was tied to a rope, lowered into an eagle nest, and moved around to frighten the young unprotected birds. The young eagles tried to fly away but were captured when they fell to the ground.

● 231 229. Tg, Ki: The young eagles, as with babies, were tied in a cradle. They were tied thus wherever they were moved.

240. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257): eagles "raised in small wickiups."

223 242. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

244. Ts: Wing feathers were taken only when old eagles, which could not fly as a result of gorging too much rabbit meat, were discovered and killed.

244a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 257).

231 248. Ku: A small bird called scalp bird (tsonomö) was sometimes kept in a cage. It was not the mockingbird (toga sugu), which the Shoshone kept. Tg: Hawks were caught when young and tamed so that they stayed uncaged around camp.

Fishing

226 252a. Loud (156) mentions two genera of
[134] trout for area we are considering: mountain trout (Coregonus williamsoni) and big Pyramid
[133] trout (Salmo henshawi). To, Tö: Trout were caught by Toe in both Walker and Pyramid lakes. These lakes are slightly brackish from mineral springs in them as well as from evaporation.

[P.424(B)]

ence or at the treaty negotiations,[16] how many Indians gathered for the treaty-signing,[17] how the twenty-two Snakes present at the signing were persuaded to attend,[18] how long treaty negotiations lasted,[19] who spoke during these proceedings,[20] or the exact day the treaty was signed.[21] Available data being so scanty about the treaty proceedings as a whole, Philleo Nash concluded in 1937 that "It is impossible to learn from the treaty whom the commissioners dealt with as 'Yahooskin Snakes'"[22] in the treaty negotiations. Nash bases this statement on his examination of Klamath Agency correspondence; examination of other fugitive material which Nash did not consult makes the impossible now possible, as follows.

On July 17, 1864, almost three months before the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty was signed, Lt. Col. Charles S. Drew of Ft. Klamath encamped with a military expedition of sixty-two men near the head of Goose Lake, at the western base of the "Sierra Nevada Mountains" [Warner Range]. Two Indian scouts attached to Drew's expedition went from this camp "up into the Sierras [Warner Range] to hunt;" these scouts brought back twenty White prospectors they met in the mountains, as well as "three of the principal Snake Indians of that region" (underlining ours) whom, Drew says, "they were anxious we should see. These Indians came into camp on foot and unarmed, having left their horses and their arms, if they had any, some distance back in charge probably of some of their comrades."

Both Indians and prospectors stayed at Drew's camp overnight. The next morning the Indians and four of the White visitors departed, the Whites leaving on the pretext of going hunting, but actually to steal the Indians' horses, which they had seen the day before. A fight over the horses ensued and one prospector was killed.

As soon as he was told what had happened, Drew sent soldiers out to bring the White men and the Indians back to his camp. Drew was apprehensive that the incident would provoke an Indian attack on the expedition, but his fears proved unfounded. "The Indians seem to have comprehended," he writes, "that the troops were in no way responsible for the outrage that had been perpetrated, and they made no hostile demonstrations toward us. Subsequently these Indians were represented

148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Wollpah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. Indeed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panai'na's name are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panai'na's appearance in the literature, "Snakes," as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Deschutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habitations, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr. McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and obliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but McKenzie was a reliable reporter.

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

7: Whiting E-5 (1936-1938) 1950
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

361 621 592 [595] holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house (Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him (Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 224 [476] *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared, [731] even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups [231] of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 462 476 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence. This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621 183] In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits, they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food. Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

626 by finding out how these offenses are treated, however, it became clear that underneath the seemingly amorphous and unformalized surface there were definite mechanisms for dealing with anti-social behavior.

626 578 Before discussing these mechanisms the types of friction which arise in interfamily relations should be reviewed briefly.

[682] Murder occurs mostly as the result of disputes over adultery, horses, or gambling debts.[1] Sorcery is one of the most important causes of friction but, as we have [754] seen in preceding chapters, in the memory of informants no sorcerers were killed, although several individuals were expelled from their communities. Accusations of sorcery are still rife and gossip is still the main pastime among the Paiute. This seems to be one of the best ways for venting aggression, part of which is probably displaced from the family.

[684 837] Adultery is one of the major problems in interfamily relations. Physical fights between rivals, men or women, are very frequent. Probably this is due in large part to the fact that marriages are so brittle that neither the husband nor the wife feels [157] secure and both react to any threat to the stability of the home. It may also be that aggression displaced from mothers and sisters, in the case of women, and fathers and brothers, in the case of men, makes the rivalry situations more bitter.

[685] Theft is another important source of friction in spite of the fact that the Harney Valley Paiute own little property. In the old days, there was no conception [423] of the ownership of real property. The nearest approach to this was the feeling that if several men set up a salmon trap in a river, other people should not place their trap too near it. A family owned its house, cooking equipment, weapons, etc. They [420] also owned the food they collected and horses. These last were the chief causes of friction over property. If a family ran out of food they were tempted to steal from the caches of other families, in spite of the fact that, if they came to a camp and had no food, the individuals who had food would feel in duty bound to feed them. However, during the years before the reservation was started, breaking into caches [231] was a common occurrence. Horses were not only useful for travel and food but gave prestige; inasmuch as most of them were stolen from surrounding tribes. The Paiutes were quite adept as horse thieves. At present money is one of the chief [579] things stolen. Fights over gambling debts are also common. Excitement at competitive games is intense, aggression is high, and the players often become very reckless. [525] Many stories are told of people who lost all their possessions in one night. Fights arise over failure to pay off these bets.

For the well-being of the community, it is necessary to prevent disputes from occurring and to settle them when they do occur. Mechanisms of social control must serve this dual purpose. Analysis of the cases collected and the statements of

[1] Murder cases are now handled by the United States Government so that the cases used for analysis are all historical. Sorcerers may no longer be killed. Adultery and theft are still handled according to the old Paiute methods.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

224 stated what mountains, but it is presumed that the Pine Nut mountains east of Carson sink furnished their principal supply. Granite Spring valley, northwest of Lovelock, and Coyote canyon, near Unionville to the northeast of Lovelock, were noted for ground squirrels, but appear to be the territory of other bands of Indians. It is probable that various mountains were visited to get small game. Two Tips was especially mentioned as a place where they got woodchucks.

411 224 [824] In shooting birds, rabbits, or any small ground animal, arrows tipped with the hard greasewood, *Sarcobatus*, were used; never arrows tipped with stone, which were reserved for large game. Different tribes made their arrows differently, so as to know them. Natches was of the opinion that Northern Paiute arrowpoints were always small. He thought that the spearpoints obtained in the valley must be the work of another people, who will be mentioned later under the [226] heading Myths. The Bannocks had spears, but Natches never heard tell of Northern Paiute using them; neither did they spear fish.

224 [115] Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins[41] mentions the hunting of bighorn sheep, deer, and antelope. The antelope, which fed on the low grass plains in herds during winter and in the spring as late as April, were said to be "charmed" by two men who went around the herd on five successive nights with torches made of sagebrush bark. Half a dozen large mounds of sage brush were built, near which at early morning and again at evening smoking, drumming, singing, and other magic arts were resorted to. On the fifth night the antelope were said to be charmed so that they followed the men with the torches up to the piles of brush where they could be easily killed. Though the Indians believed that success was due to magic, in reality the animals were made victims of their own curiosity.

[178] After the Indians came into possession of horses they would chase deer and antelope into the valley, and when one horse gave out another [231] man with a fresh horse would be ready to take up the chase.

Trapping.—It would seem that much of their small game was obtained in traps. Traps were also made weighted with stones sufficient to kill coyotes, wolves, and wild cats. For the smaller animals a single large stone with a flat undersurface was tilted and set with one edge against an upright post so as to easily become loosened and crush the animal beneath (fig. 25*a*).

[113] [41] Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann, and printed for the author. Boston, 1883.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

The same principle was used for catching coyotes. A post was firmly set in the ground, against which was tilted a large platform of poles covered with stones; figure 25*b* will convey a better idea than words of how the weight was released. 224

Natches said that bears were never seen in central Nevada, not even in the timber of the Pine Nut mountains. The Northern Paiute never wore robes made of bear skin, although the Bannock wore them. It is said that the ancient people at the cave had blankets made from 291 [136] [172]

224

Fig. 25.—Traps. *a*, single large stone for crushing ground squirrels and small game; *b*, trap for coyote and wildcat: post set in ground; bait is attached to unstably set trigger; cord wrapped once about the post and attached at lower end to trigger, at upper end to pole, unstably balanced on top of the post; platform of poles covered with rock to crush the entrapped animal.

twisted strips of mud hen skin. Only poor people would dress that way. Usually the Northern Paiute wore rabbit skin robes, also robes of the skins of mice and other small game. After the acquisition of the horse a few of the richest Northern Paiute, those who were good hunters and great travelers, came into possession of buffalo skin blankets. But these were obtained from the regions to the east. Panthers were never seen in central Nevada and although plentiful on the timbered mountains of California, were so difficult to kill that no one could hope to possess a blanket of panther skin. 291 [172] [178] [231] [136] [224]

To catch jackrabbits the whole band of Indians, men, women, and children, lined up across the valley, beat the bushes, and drove them into a corner near the river. The rabbits would not swim, but would follow the bank till they were caught in a seine net stretched across a 30-foot gap between the stream and a hill. 224

Wadátkuht

103
361
[787]
[776]

The spring is located at the archaeological site Las-91, and it is at this spring that certain persons would see "water babies". This village site is located slightly more than a mile north of Wendel and was used by Joaquin's band.

14. Ak' wuhg^{O} tukuhn ("Place Where Suckers are Eaten"). This seems to be a general term for camping places along Long Valley Creek (the creek is called Ak' wuhg^{O}, "Sucker"). The archaeological sites Las-33, Las-80, Las-81 and Las-82 T26N/R16E) probably are some of the sites to which the informants had reference. These sites are in sandy areas [226] near, or on bluffs overlooking the creek. When the suckers ran each year in the creek they were caught in great numbers [251] and dried for winter use.

No precise village locations could be obtained, apparently due to the fact that the informants do not always think in terms of a specific site, but rather in terms of areas within which they might camp more or less indiscriminately.

15. Kidū dawaka ("Groundhog's Place"). Kitty Joaquin said this name applied to the place where she had her home before her death. She seemed to be the only individual, however, who was familiar with this name as applied to this place. This site is on the Janesville Grade and about one mile above (south) Kasawihnaid. The archaeological designation for it is Las-73 (T26N/R13E/ corner of Secs. 15-16 [412] and 21-22). There are several bedrock mortars in the granite boulders at the site which would indicate that the site had had previous occupation. It is situated among pines, cedars and oaks, and is near a mountain meadow through which Parker Creek flows.

16. Akú kaive ("Sunflower Mountain"). Susy Buster said [231] that the village at Fort Sage had this name. No other information concerning this village was obtainable, except that [417] Wintun Miller, an Indian, lived there and kept buffalo in a corral made of brush. This Washo man seems to have an air of mystery about him and the informants spoke of the fact that there were a number of tales concerning him, but they did not know any of them. In fact, Kitty Joaquin never knew him, so he must have died before her time. He is said to have kept the buffalo to trade to the Paiutes, both the Wadátkuht and Kuyuitkuht. Wintun Miller is an enigma.

Fort Sage was located where the present town of Herlong is now located, on the flats some distance southeast of Honey Lake.

Wadátkuht

534 Kitty denied the use of the skin drum but came up with the name mumítukwibuhn for it.

Cocoon rattles seem to have been known by the Wadátkuht and Kitty was familiar with the cocoons which were found on [237] greasewood. These cocoons were called tsu' uwp and were gathered in the fall of the year. The deer hoof rattle was called watsí bŏbŏ' and was made from the dew claws of deer. This type of rattle was used by the shaman and when he felt it becoming light it was a sign that he was becoming weak.

372 Fire. If possible, the fire was never allowed to go out. When a family had to leave for a short period, the fire was covered with dirt so that some glowing embers would remain on their return. Sagebrush bark could then be put on the embers and a fire built up again.

276 Tobacco. Tobacco was called huíba'mu and the pipe in which it was smoked to'ish. Kitty's father's father had a tubular pipe of oak with a stem of arrowcane. Tobacco was made by first drying the tobacco and then grinding it to a powder on the metate. It was mixed with the bark of some other plant which also was ground.

Honey Lake Valley was an important area of northern California for the procurement of tobacco. The entire mature plant was pulled up and hung for drying. However, the plants had to be gathered before the fall rains spoiled the tobacco.

●231 Horses. Horses were called pukú and were gotten from [439] the "Dow Eaters", a Paiute people living "toward the sun" (sic), seemingly the Bannock. They got them by trade or by stealing them. However, Susy knew of no Wadátkuht who had made a trip to the Bannock people.

[648] The Wadátkuht had horses before the white people arrived [492] in their country, but both horses and cattle were stolen from the pioneers. A buckskin saddle is reported by the informants to have been used when horseback riding.

[262] Horses were eaten by the Wadátkuht but a person was [291] loath to eat his own horse. However, they had few inhibitions when it came to eating another person's horse. Horsehide was used for the soles of moccasins, while tanned deer skin was used for the tops.

[177] After the white people came to the country, horses were

Wadatkuht

were plentiful and wild horses were caught at Hot Springs Mountain northeast of Honey Lake.

Dogs. The name for this animal was sokopuk^{u}, "walking horse" (i.e., the animal could not be ridden). Even though dogs were scarce they were eaten during times of little food. However, a person always tried to eat someone else's dog rather than his own. The Wadatkuht did not ask their dogs questions because the dogs might answer them, thus turning the person to stone.

When Gladys was a very small girl she had a dog by the name of Aidzu na'^{a}', the meaning of which she did not know. Joaquin called his dog Ki naho, which meant "Come here!" The dog only understood when he was spoken to in the Paiute language, and could not "understand" English.

THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Information concerning the life of the individual in Wadatkuht society is presented in this section. The treatment here is by no means exhaustive, but is sufficient to provide some idea of the values and standards of these people.

Birth and Children. During pregnancy it was considered bad for a woman to watch someone butcher an animal because to do so might cause the baby to be in some way deformed. If a child were crippled, however, due to this or other causes, he was not illy treated.

Twins were rare and it was considered to be "terrible to have two children at once". The twins were not killed or mistreated, but were advised not to have children when they became adults.

A person was lefthanded because the umbilicus lay across the child's left shoulder when it was born. If a person knew what to do he would transfer the cord to the other side, but in doing so had to say something (a prayer or formula?).

People who were carried in a cradleboard as babies were likely to be straight-standing individuals all the remainder of their lives. Parents sometimes had difficulty with a child when it was being broken from being carried in the cradleboard. The child would often cry and fuss when it was

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo

Northern Paiute NR13

175 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958)
648 gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this development of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied wrongs. The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility [62] developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute [178] led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated [423] with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249; Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

177 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the
114 horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called com-
● 231 posite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting
178 groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this develop-
621 ment, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

N W 136 174 182 114

Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

N 224 182

If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

N W [648]

N 231 177

The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

northern Basin people an ecological alternative on one hand and increased the destruction of buffalo west of the Rockies on the other. Thus the horse-owning Shoshoni and Bannock pursued the bison across the divide and adapted to a life as mounted nomadic buffalo hunters. The colorful and dramatic population in the Plains may have obscured the relationships maintained between these groups and the "miserable Diggers" of the Basin. One must remember, however, that although buffalo were plentiful on the Plains the area was sparse in other food sources. The Basin offered a far wider variety of plant foods and fish as well as small game.

There is ample evidence that the Shoshoni, particularly as people armed with guns entered the Plains, were forced to move westward, and spend at least part of the year in a modified Basin existence. However, these people were essentially Plains Indians in attitude and had developed the war complex, with its emphasis on personal glory, coup counting and horse raiding as well as the larger band organization needed to support military activity of this nature. For whatever reason individual Plains Indians found themselves in northern Nevada it seems completely logical that they would go on acting like Plains Indians. There were no bison to hunt, but cattle ranged widely and there were many horse herds owned by whites. Such people were probably high prestige figures among the Paiute, who were suffering from want and were without large numbers of horses. The behavior of these visitors served as a model of alternative behavior for Paiutes, who had in fact been seeking alternatives since the disappearance of the bison.

This behavior, however, presented a different picture to the white man than had the inoffensive scavenging and begging and pilfering of the pre-raiding band days. Large bands of Indians riding down on ranches, harassing wagon trains, waylaying travelers and running off stock could be viewed only as enemies. Enemies were met with force and, once defeated, were contained on reservations.

The White Man: Culture without Society

In discussing Paiute and Washo we have spoken of two social systems bearing distinct yet generally similar culture, and in examining the changes that took place among these peoples we have discussed both cultural and social changes. However, in speaking of the white men who entered western Nevada in the first half of the 19th century it seems that we cannot meaningfully speak of white society and its impact on the culture or society of the Indians. Certainly Jedediah Smith and Zenas Leonard were not extensions of American society nor were the hordes of rootless fortune-seekers who entered the